

DEVELOPMENT AND DISPLACEMENT IN KERALA: AN EXPERIENCE OF COCHIN INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT LIMITED (CIAL)

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Abstract

The India has adopted new economic policy as well as structural adjustment programmes after 1991 to compete at the International market, the process of restructuring its old model development to new initiatives of Liberalization, Privatisation and Globalization also started in Kerala. The 'Kerala model of development' is widely known as the simultaneous persistence of high social development and lowest economic growth. It is a classic example of continuous debate on the phenomenon of "lopsided development" which means highest social development with stagnant economic growth. Although many scholars have criticised Kerala model as development replica for other Indian states due to its slow economic growth (Subrahmanian, 2006).

It is in this context, the paper takes overview of Kerala model of development and impact of economic reform by examining the developmental projects and the outgrowing displacement in the name of development in the state of Kerala. The research paper examines the land acquisition and displacement in Kerala by taking case of Cochin International Airport Limited (CIAL) to understand the perception and experience of development in post reform era. The paper is based on descriptive research design, adopting snow ball sampling technique to identify the project affected people(PAP) in two resettlement colony of Ernakulam district of Kerala and total 50 sample size of PAP households have been used for data collection purpose and data have been quantitatively analysed to understand the impact of CIAL on the PAP. The findings of the study reveal that CIAL has created multi-dimensional impact on the PAP and the rehabilitation and resettlement still remains unresolved issues for the affected population.

Keywords: Development, Cochin International Airport

Introduction

The concept of Kerala model of development is internationally renowned model of alternative development especially publicized by Amartya Sen. Kerala model development held up by the development scholars because of its achievement in social development with lesser economic development. A striking feature of Kerala's development experience is the growth of the service sector. Historically too, this sector has been more pronounced in Kerala than in the rest of the country. The largest shares of income (55 per cent) and employment (40 per cent) are generated in the service sector. Kerala's economy is no longer predominantly agrarian; the primary sector accounts for only 26 per cent of the State income and 32 per cent of employment (as in 1999-2000) (Human Development Report, 2005).

Kerala occupies the first rank in human development in India. The Human Development Index of state increased from 0.685 in 1991 to 0.773 in 2001. In contradictory the per capita income is lower than either state in India. So the Kerala model development proves that economic growth is not essential for the social development. Kerala's achievements in terms of some of the basic indicators of human development are well known and have been much commented upon (Human Development Report, 2005). The results of Kerala model of development are highlighted in the following indicators: a generally high literacy rate, a low population growth, high life expectancies and greater accessibility to essential services like health, water, electricity, public distribution shops, roads etc. These indicators are important because these are attributes available to, experienced by, a large section of population to show up significantly when measured on a spatial or per capita basis. The "Kerala Model" has in fact laid the foundations for the development of a new model based on knowledge-intensive industries and services and modernization of traditional agriculture and cottage industries. Education is the key of development in the Kerala model development (Swamy, 2010).

Veron (2001) describes the Kerala model development as "old" and "new" models. He connotes the "old" development as achievement of highest social development by state intervention through Public Distribution system and various welfare policies and socio-cultural changes through various public movements. "New" Kerala model begins in 1990s by the implementation democratic decentralization through three tier local bodies (District, Block and village). This model was forcefully implemented after the panchayati raj constitutional amendment in India. Similarly, this New Kerala Development Model based on the tenets of structural adjustment programme, invited more private players to invest in the state for industrial as well as for infrastructural development purpose by adopting the public

private partnership model. At present the state is witnessing rapid development in the areas of airports, seaports, metro rail, mono rail, roads and information technology infrastructure etc. There are total four international airport in the state at Thiruvanthapuram, Kochi, Kozhikode and Kunnur district respectively, one major seaport and seven minor seaports, Metro and Mono rail network in the district of Thiruvanthapuram, Kochi, Kozhikode, seven national highway and the state road with density of 417 km/100 sq km, developing more than 1000 acres of IT infrastructure creation, smart city, cyber city, cyber park and IT hubs etc. The New Kerala Development Model based on ideology of neo-liberalism fundamentally different from old development model concerns for human development, social development, democratic and peaceful means for peoples development. Contrary, the nature and approach of new Kerala development model is towards marketization, privatization and attracting private financial institute to invest in the infrastructural development through public-private partnership mode and using undemocratic means in the state development process. Hence, the post reform period characterized the state of Kerala's transformation from soft development to aggressive development. Ironically, nature of development process adopted by the state has created more land acquisition and related eviction of masses in the name of development and higher degree of human rights violation of people. The state un-democratic nature of forceful eviction for attaining growth creates the issue of various level of impoverishment and denial of freedom from participating in development process. Undemocratic means of land acquisition put question on the post reform development model adopted by Kerala. Land acquisition and Displacement due to various development projects indicates the fundamental change in the development paradigm of the state which put more focus on the growth rather than the social development and human rights.

New Kerala Model of Development and Origin of CIAL

Since last two decades, Kerala has witnessed to substantial development in aviation sector. Three international airports are already functioning in Kerala and fourth airport in Kannur is under process of construction. The new Cochin airport project was an alternative to the existing civil enclave in the naval airport, which was not capable of handling larger aircraft due to runway limitations. Cochin International Airport Limited (CIAL) was the first airport in India to be built in the joint sector by public – private participation model. The airport users and other benefactors, mainly non-resident Indians, the general public, Government of Kerala (GOK) and the airport service providers came together to build an airport of international standards. (Varkkey and Raghu Ram, 2001)

CIAL is the initiatives of Kerala government to avoid the criticism of non-utilization of NRI remittance for the development programmes in the state. CIAL model of development initiated the PPP (Public Private Partnership) model of development in Kerala. Kannur Airport project is also trying to get constructed with the help of NRI business community.

CIAL is a successful attempt under public-private partnership to enhance aviation and development sector in Kerala. The operation of CIAL has boost tourism, business, cargo services and employability in the state. But on the other side, the forced land acquisition and dissatisfaction of PAP regarding compensation and resettlement package by government brought out the issues of vulnerability and marginalization of PAP. To build CIAL total 1254 acres of land acquired and 872 households were displaced mainly belong to scheduled castes communities. The PAPs who lost houses were rehabilitated in various locations which are known as 'Six Cent Colonies' (six cents of land was given to each family who lost their house). This new model of development surpassed the sustainable and democratic model have had experienced by Kerala and created different forms of marginalization on the name of development in the state. It is in this context, the study has been designed to examine development induced displacement to understand process of rehabilitation and resettlement under CIAL in Kerala. (Varkkey and Raghu Ram, 2001)

Methodology

The present paper based on descriptive research design. Using snow ball sampling techniques, total 50 sample sizes of displaced households have been selected for data collection from two resettlement colony of CIAL namely Nedumbassery Gram Panchayat and Angamaly Municipality of Ernakulam district of kerala. The data have been collected by household survey using structured interview schedule. The collected data quantitatively analysed by using SPSS package and descriptively written to explain the impact of CIAL on project affected people of universe of the study.

Data Analysis and Findings

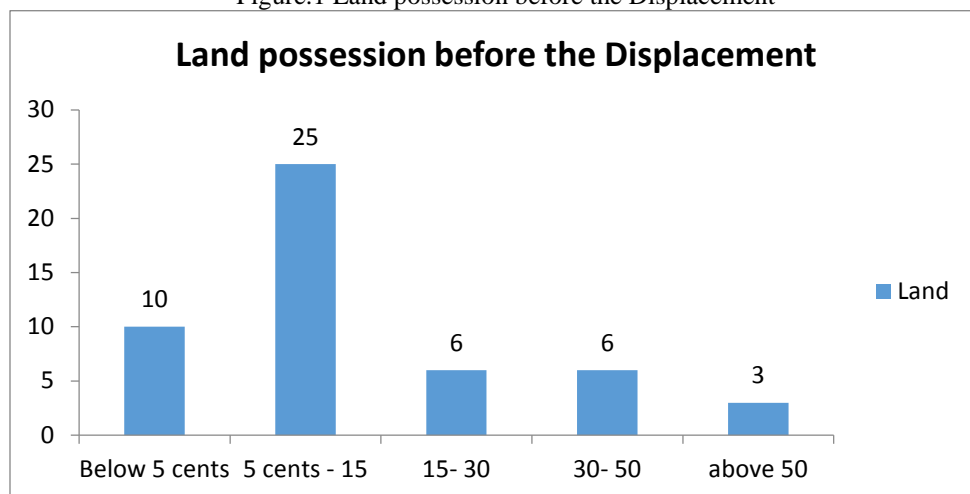
First part of analysis comprises the impact on land possession and livelihood due to the displacement. Second part comprises the impact on homelessness and management of homeless by the displaced persons in resettlement colonies. Finally, it analyse the impact on socio- cultural life of the displaced persons by displacement.

PART-I: DISPOSESSION AND IMPACT ON LIVELIHOOD

This part described in detail impact of displacement on landholding and livelihood patterns of displaced persons. It constitutes cross analysis of

land holdings before displacement, previous livelihoods patterns and impact on livelihood by the reduction of landholding among the displaced persons. The cross analyses also been attempted to understand the effectiveness of R&R to minimise the issue of joblessness and level of satisfaction in job and income level after displacement.

Figure.1 Land possession before the Displacement



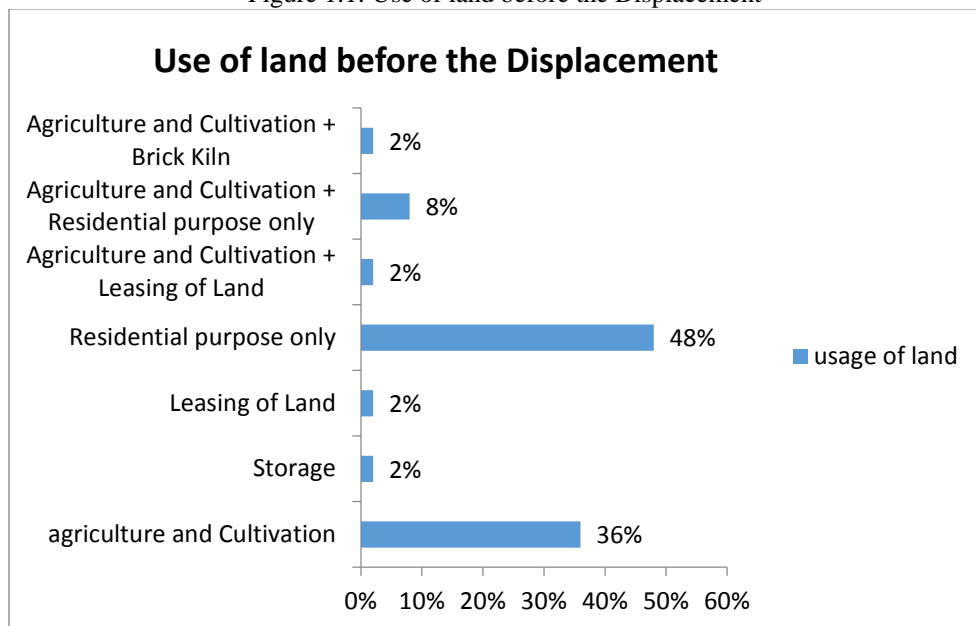
The chart and data described the land possession of respondents before displacement. Majority of the respondents were holding 5 cents to 15 cents of land. Only few respondents had more than 50 cents of land. It indicates that the household with less than 15 cent of land largely affected due to displacement and settled in resettlement colony compare to those who have high land holding. In other words, household with less landholding suffered more compare to large land holding by CIAL project.

Table .1 Impact of reduction of land holding on livelihood after displacement

Impact	Respondents (%)
Less Agricultural Land Productivity	32
less land for leasing purpose	2
Limited land for brick kiln	2
Less Agricultural Land Productivity + No land for cattle rearing	10
Less Agricultural Land Productivity + Less land for leasing purpose	8
Not affected	2
Less Agricultural Land Productivity + Limited land for brick kiln + No land for cattle rearing	2
NA	42
Total	100

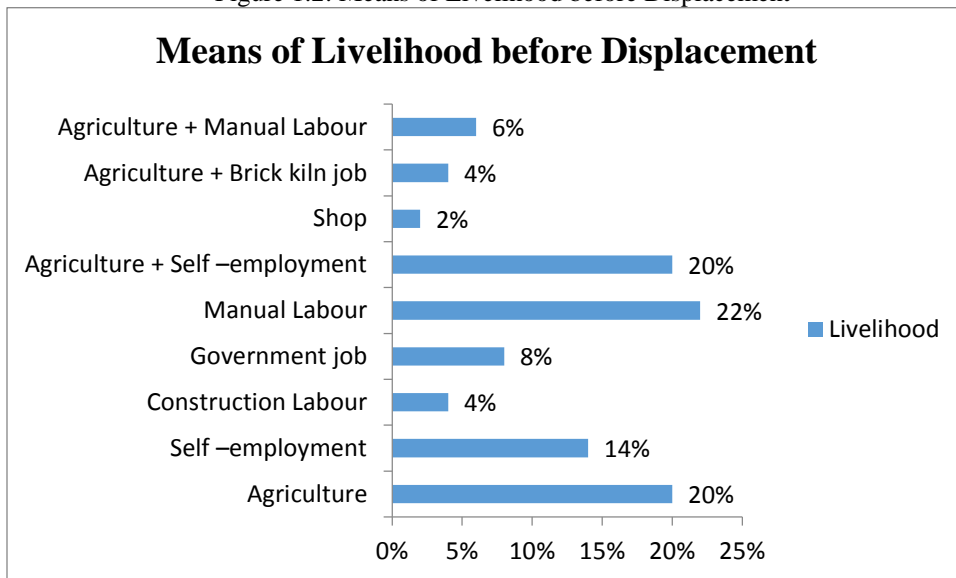
The table indicates impact on livelihood due to reduction in land size after displacement. Majority (32%) of the respondents have lost their agricultural land. For constructing Airport, CIAL has acquired huge acres of paddy field changed the occupation pattern in the universe of the study. It indicates that the people are highly depending on CIAL jobs and other allied works. Similarly, some of the project affected people working in non-farm activities such as brick kiln work for their livelihood. Data also show that acquisition of land and displacement have negatively affected on livelihood of displaced population under study.

Figure 1.1: Use of land before the Displacement



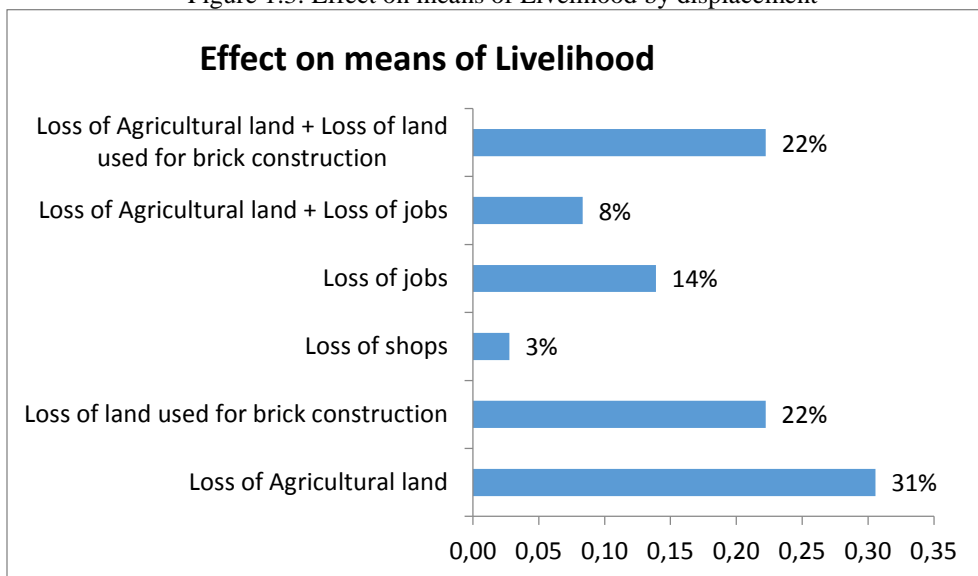
The figure shows majority (48%) of the people used land for residential purpose only and 36% utilised land for agriculture and cultivation purposes. It also shows that people were used land for agriculture along with leasing and storage purposes. The above trend indicates that displaced community were highly relied on agriculture and allied activities before displacement.

Figure 1.2: Means of Livelihood before Displacement



The figure and data provides detail regarding means of livelihood before displacement. It indicates that majority of the respondents were involved in manual labourers (22%), agriculture labour (20%), Agriculture as well as self-employment (20%), self-employment (14%) before the displacement. Similarly, small percent of them were also engaged in brick kiln work, owning shops, government jobs and construction work. However, data shows that agriculture was main livelihood of the displaced before the land acquisition.

Figure 1.3: Effect on means of Livelihood by displacement



The data indicates majority of displaced people have lost their agriculture land (31%), land used for brick kiln work (22%) after displacement. Similarly, it is also shows that the people have lost their sources of livelihood such as jobs, shops etc after displacement from their own land. It indicates major livelihoods of respondents were affected by the displacement.

Table 1.1 Number of persons got job under R&R package

Jobs offered	Respondents (Numbers)
Job offered	38
Not offered	12
Total	50

The data indicates majority (38) household could able to get small menial jobs for livelihood compare to (12) households were not offered jobs from CIAL under R & R package. It also indicates that more than 50 per cent of project affected peoples (PAPs) have benefitted and got alternate source of livelihood from CIAL. However, the nature of jobs offered by CIAL were mainly menial in nature to satisfy basic subsistence needs of households.

Table 1.2 Nature of job provided by CIAL

Category	Nature of job				
Category	Permanent	Temporary	Contractual	Taxi Permit	Not applicable
General	2	0	4	1	2
Scheduled Castes	2	3	12	1	7
Other backward classes	1	4	5	3	3
Total	5	7	21	5	12

The table describes nature of jobs provided across different social group households under CIAL R&R package. Data indicates out of 38 job seekers, majority 21 households got contractual work, 7 households got temporary work, 5 households got permanent work and 5 household got taxi permit to ferry passengers and staff of CIAL. The displaced households were mostly involved in unskilled and manual jobs under CIAL R&R package. Similarly, the representation of social group household in different nature of jobs offered by CIAL reveals and replicates the vulnerability of traditionally excluded communities such as scheduled castes and other backward classes. Data indicates R&R package has created more temporary and contractual labour among scheduled castes and other backward classes in comparison to general categories.

Table 1.3 Type of jobs provided by CIAL

Social category of respondents	Type of job				
Category	Manual labour	Office work	Transportation	Taxi Permit	Not applicable
General	4	1	1	1	2
Scheduled Castes	13	2	3	1	7
Other backward Classes	7	0	3	3	3
Total	24	3	6	5	12

The table represents types of jobs and distribution among social groups under CIAL R&R package. Data reveals that the different types of jobs such as manual labour, office work, transportation and taxi permit were provided among social group of displaced households. Majority of social group households represented in manual labour (24) in comparison office work (3), transportation (6) and taxi permit (5). Similarly, it also reveals that majority of scheduled castes and other backward class groups (20) were recruited in manual labour in comparison to general category in CIAL. Thus, above trend indicates vulnerability of scheduled castes and other backward classes in types and distribution of jobs under CIAL R&R package.

Table 1.4 Nature of Job Satisfaction

Satisfaction	Respondents (in Numbers)
Satisfied	14
Not Satisfied	24
Job Not offered	12
Total	50

The table describes nature of job satisfaction of respondents work with CIAL. It shows that majority (24) respondents were not satisfied with jobs provided by CIAL in comparison to (14) of them are satisfied with job. Majority respondents are unhappy due to irregular and contractual nature of CIAL jobs. However, they still continue with jobs due to limited livelihood option available for them after land alienation and displacement by CIAL.

Table 1.5 Needs Satisfaction by job

Needs	Respondents (in numbers)
Decent standard of living	6
Food consumption only	32
Job Not offered	12
Total	50

The table described nature of needs satisfaction of respondent under CIAL jobs. It shows that total 38 displaced persons were benefitted by job under R&R package of CIAL. Majority 32 respondents expressed that job only helped them to meet their food consumption and 6 respondent expressed jobs enable them to live a decent standard of living in daily life. These data indicates that jobs provided by CIAL have limitations and could only provide subsistence needs to the beneficiaries.

Table 1.6 Status of income level after Displacement

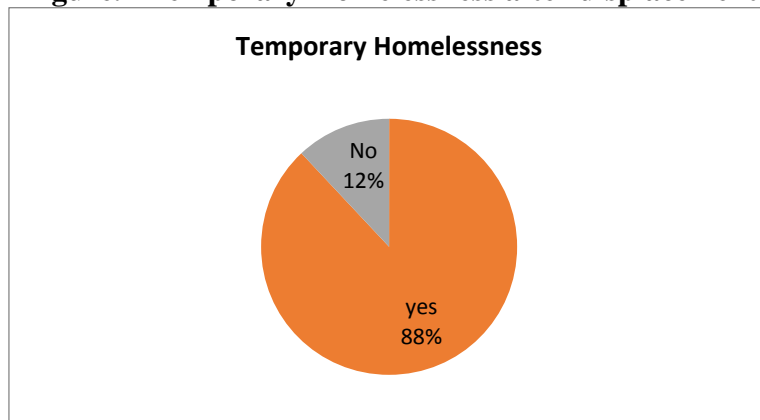
Income level	Respondents (%)
Increased	12
Decreased	72
No change	12
Don't know	4
Total	100

The data related to status of income level after disaster reveals that majority 72 percent of displaced populations income levels have significantly decreased in comparison 12 per cent have responded increased in income level and 12 per cent respondent no change in income level after land acquisition and displacement. The data shows that displacement negatively affected income level of the displaced persons under study.

Part-II: issue and management of homelessness:

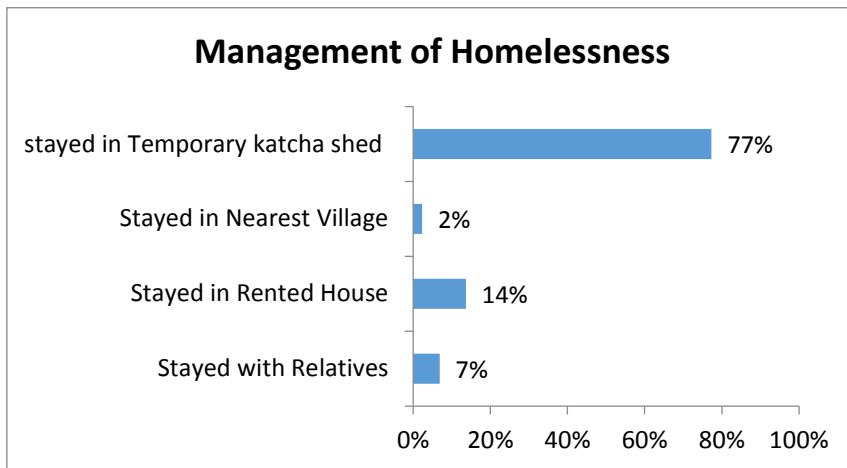
This part of the analysis described the situation of homelessness faced by the respondents after displacement. It consists of the issues of homelessness faced by the displaced persons and various coping strategies adopted by them to manage homelessness in the resettlement area. This part is also analysing compensation package of CIAL to assist displaced persons to build decent homes in resettlement area.

Figure.2 Temporary Homelessness after displacement

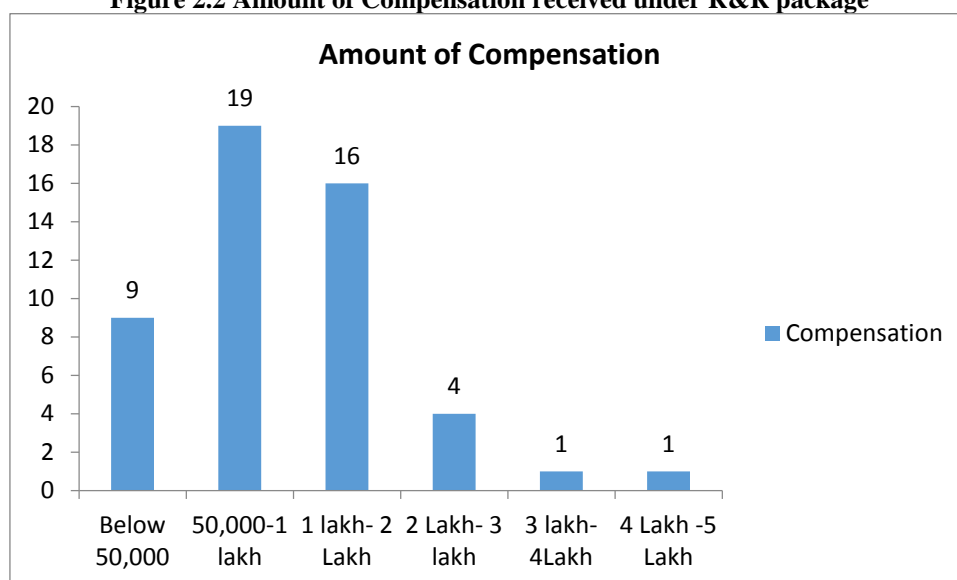


The pie chart describes the magnitude of temporary homelessness suffered by the displaced persons after CIAL. Majority (88%) of the respondents have undergone temporary homelessness after displacement. It indicates that the temporary displacement forced displaced population to explore temporary settlement for living.

Figure2.1 Management of Homelessness after displacement



The graph represents management of homelessness by displaced population after displacement. Homeless population have managed with temporary homelessness through various ways. Majority (77%) of them stayed in a temporary katcha shed in resettlement colony, 14% stayed in rented house, 7% stayed with relatives and 2% stayed in nearest village before constructing their homes in resettlement colony. It indicates that displaced population have managed their alternate residence due to delay in construction of resettlement colony by CIAL and lack of government support and facilities to tackle the issue of homelessness after the displacement.

Figure 2.2 Amount of Compensation received under R&R package

The data reveals that majority of the respondents (16) got the amount between one lakh to 2 lakh and (19) respondents received amount between fifty thousand to one lakh rupees. Only one respondent availed amount between 4 lakh and 5 lakh and least got the amount higher than 5 lakh rupees under the R&R package. It means compensation amount was meagre compare to the value of their land undergone displacement due to CIAL project. It indicates that CIAL compensation amount was negligible and insufficient for any self-employment or alternate livelihood option of displaced population.

Table 2. Satisfaction on compensation

Satisfaction on Compensation	Respondents (%)
Yes	8
No	92
Total	100

The data indicates majority of displaced population (92%) were not satisfied with compensation in comparison (8%) displaced population satisfied with compensation under Resettlement and Rehabilitation package of CIAL. It also means the compensation package of CIAL have generated dissatisfaction among displaced population due to low worth of it.

Table 2.1. Various sources adopted to complete the construction of home

Sources	Respondents (%)
Loan from money lenders	12
Bank loan	18
Sold out land	4
By doing work	52
Loan from local	2
Administrative institutions	
Loan from cooperative banks	4
Bank loan + Sold out gold	4
Loan from money lenders + Bank loan	4
Total	100

The table reveals majority of the respondents are not satisfied with compensation provided under the R&R package. In order to construct home, they have used other resources in resettlement area. More than 50 percent of them started working to find resources to construct house. Rest of them took bank loans, approached money lenders, sold out land for money, loan from administrative institution, loan from co-operative banks, sold out gold etc to generate money and resources for constructing house. This process pushed them into debt and long term debt repayment process.

Part III: impact on socio- cultural life of displaced persons

This part comprise of analysis on impact of displacement on socio-cultural life of displaced persons under study. It includes the changes in consumption pattern, social cohesion and interaction among the displaced people. For analysing the effect of displacement on various communities, cross analysis of loss of common community properties on different social groups have been conducted.

Table 3: Change in consumption pattern after displacement

Consumption	Respondents (in numbers)
Yes	39
No	11
Total	50

The table reveals majority (39) respondent reported about significant change in the consumption pattern in comparison 11 respondents reported no change in consumption patter after displacement. It means loss of land and livelihood source after displacement severely affected consumption pattern of displaced people after displacement.

Table 3.1: Factors led to the changes in consumption after displacement

Factors	Respondents %
Dependency on market products increased	16
Less money for consumption	6
Expenditure on market products increased+ Dependency on market products	32
Any other	46
Total	100

The table represents the factors led to changes in consumption pattern of displaced persons after displacement. Majority 32% of respondent reported that expenditure on market products increased as well as dependency on market products have increased after the displacement. Similarly, 16% reported dependency on market products increased and 6% reported less money for consumption after displacement. It indicates that varied factors led to the changes in consumption after displacement.

Table 3.2 Impact on Social Cohesion and Interaction

Impact	Respondents (%)
Yes	28
No	72
Total	100

The table reveals impact on the social cohesions and interaction after displacement. Majority 72% respondents reported there is no impact on social cohesion as well as interaction in comparison 28% reported displacement has affected social cohesion and interaction after displacement. Majority respondents don't feel impact on social cohesion and interaction due to proximity of resettlement colony and previous areas of residence of displaced population. However, 28% of respondent reported loss of neighbourhood, lack of time and distance led to change in social cohesion and interaction between the community members after displacement in resettlement area.

Table 3.3 Reasons of changes in Socio-cultural life of the Displaced people

Reasons of changes in Socio-cultural life	Respondents (in numbers)
Loss of common Cremation Ground	4
Loss of worshipping Place	6
Loss of Neighbourhood	3
Loss of common Cremation Ground + Loss of worshipping Place	11
Loss of common Cremation Ground + Loss of Neighbourhood	1
Not responded	25
Total	50

Data reveals varieties of reasons for change in socio-cultural life of displaced population. More than 50 per cent i.e. 25 household reported loss of common cremation ground, loss of worshipping place, loss of neighbourhood are major reasons led changes in socio-cultural life of displaced population in the study area.

Table 3.4. Loss of common community property and resources

Social category	Loss of common cremation ground	Loss of worshipping Place	Loss of Neighbourhood	Loss of common Cremation Ground + Loss of worshipping Place	Loss of common Cremation Ground + Loss of Neighbourhood	Not responded
General	1	0	2	0	0	10
Scheduled castes	3	3	1	10	1	7
Other backward communities	0	3	0	1	0	8
Total	4	6	3	11	1	25

The table represents loss of common community property and resources among social groups after displacement. Data reveals among social groups, scheduled castes have suffered in all aspects of loss of common community property and resources in comparison to general and other backward classes. Data shows that displacement has adversely impacted on the cultural life of the dalits in area under study.

Table 3.5 Displacement affected on family structure and relationships

Impact	Respondents (%)
Not Affected	62
Creation of nuclear family	32
Creation of nuclear family + lack of affection + Lack of participation in festivity and family celebrations	4
Lack of affection + Lack of participation in festivity and family celebrations	2
Total	100

The table describes impact of displacement on family structure and relationships. Data shows 38% of households reported impact of displacement on family structure and relationship in the study area. Majority 32% reported creation of nuclear family after displacement, 6% reported lack of affection and lack of participation in festivity and family celebration after displacement. Thus, displacement has created nuclear family as well as lack of affection among family members.

Discussion and Concluding Observation

Based on above data analyses and findings of the study, the concluding observations are as follows:

The displaced persons who were possessed lesser extent of land before displacement were settled in resettlement colony. Displacement has made reduction on the size of land and negatively impacted on the livelihood of displaced persons. Majority of displaced persons were engaged in agriculture and related works before displacement. Displacement by CIAL changed agrarian society in to a highly dependent manual labours relying on CIAL.

Nature and type of most of the jobs provided under R&R package is temporary and manual. Only few displaced persons got permanent job under the package. Job provided under R&R package is not sufficient not to satisfy a decent standard of living. Majority of displaced persons who availed jobs only able to meet the consumption needs. Scheduled castes people failed to get permanent jobs proportionate to their numbers comparing with other social groups and their number in unskilled job is higher than the other community groups.

Land acquisition and related displacement was immediately commenced without giving proper time to displaced persons to construct home in resettlement area. Study found that majority of the displaced persons were suffered temporarily homelessness after displacement and they forced to live in thatched/katcha sheds for a long time till to complete construction of homes.

Displacement has affected the consumption pattern by increasing dependence on market products than earlier. Loss of agriculture land, insisted displaced people to rely on market to meet consumption needs. Scheduled castes people have suffered severely than the other social groups in respect of loss of cultural and common community properties. Common cremation ground and indigenous worshipping places were the unique nature of dalits in Kerala. Data show that displacement has adversely impacted on the socio-cultural life of the dalits. Reconstruction of the indigenous worshipping place needs to give much more importance under R&R package with the mainstream religious community groups. Loss of neighbourhood affected social cohesion and community interaction among the displaced persons resettlement colony. Resettlement area is not far away from the previous residential area. So the displacement has made fewer changes in cultural life of the displaced people.

Kerala has achieved highest social development by the successful implementation of public policies like land reformation, Public Distribution system (PDS), education and health facilities through public action. Developmental policies in state has implemented through democratic and

peaceful means rather than the undemocratic and authoritative rule. After 1990s, shifting of development programmes as part of Structural Adjustment programme of India has taken place. Kerala adopted the development plan to utilise its foreign remittance through PPP model of development. This model also paved the utilisation of resources of Kerala for the business and capital of Non Residential Keralites in the name of economic growth. Development model adopted by CIAL based on remittance and capabilities of NRIs. Acquiring of huge land and mass displacement indicated a shift in the earlier development model as 'soft development' to more aggressive, violent and exploitative. Paper explored that displacement has made a significant impact on livelihood, shelter and socio- cultural life of displaced people. Study also revealed that dispossession of land by accumulation caused to the transformation of an agrarian society to highly capital dependent community. Study explores that development projects which intended to enhance the economic growth invokes impoverishment and socio-cultural impact on the displaced community. Majority of the displaced people were dalits and they were restricted in the new employment environment as unskilled and manual jobs. In CIAL project, dalits were the major community displaced and suffered the loss of cultural space and common community properties. In conclusion, Kerala needs to revive its 'old' model of development rooted on social justice and change, public participation, public action and inclusive than the 'new' partial, exclusive and aggressive model development.

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